

APPENDICES

preserve the independence of the proletarian movement and its own independence in agitation, in organisation and in demonstrations. To **criticise** the half-heartedness and vacillation of the petty bourgeois groans. to anticipate their vacillations, to be prepared for them and at the same time to utilise to the full all the revolutionary possibilities of these strata, to carry on a consistent struggle against petty bourgeois influence over the proletariat, employ all means to liberate the wide masses of the peasantry from the influence of the petty bourgeois parties and to win from them the hegemony over the peasantry—these are the tasks of the Communist Parties.

25. How rapidly the revolutionary movement in India, Ee^{pt}, etc. will reach such a high degree of maturity as it has already reached in China depends to an essential extent on how quickly there arises there a *bis* revolutionary wave. In the event of its postponement for a considerable time, the political and organisational ripening of the driving forces of the revolution can only proceed by way of a gradual and relatively slow process of development. If, however, the coming powerful revolutionary wave rises earlier, then the movement may quickly be able to attain a much higher stage of maturity.

Under exceptionally favourable circumstances, it is not even excluded that the revolution there may be able in one single mighty wave to achieve the conquest of power by the proletariat and peasantry. It is also possible that the process of the development of the revolution from one stage to another more mature stage will be interrupted for a more or less prolonged period of time, in particular if the coming wave of revolutionary upheaval reaches a relatively small height and is not of great duration. Consequently, it is necessary in every case to subject the concrete situation to the most detailed analysis.

The following factors are of decisive significance for the immediate growth of the revolution from one stage to another higher stage: the degree of development of the revolutionary proletarian leadership of the movement, i. e. of the Communist Party of the given country, the numerical strength of the Party, its independent character,

consciousness and fighting
readiness, as well as its authority and connection with the
masses and its
influence on the trade union and peasant movement;; 2. the
degree or or-
ganisation and the revolutionary experience of the
working class, as well
as, to a certain extent, of the peasantry. The revolutionary
experience of
the masses signifies experience of struggle; in the first place,
liberation from
the influence over them of the bourgeois and petty
bourgeois parties.

Since these pre-requisites for the first big mass outburst of
the resolution,
even in the best circumstances, are present only to an
insufficient degree,
an unusually deep revolutionary crisis and an unusually high
and persistent
revolutionary wave are required for it to be possible for the
bourgeois-
democratic revolution with the aid of this one wave of
upheaval to lead to
the complete victory of the proletariat and peasantry. Such
a possibility is